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served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Missionary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time religion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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[597] 851 621 602

the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuunga lou*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuunga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 262

The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

591 261 621

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuunga tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*wai tuunga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 592

A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuunga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuunga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

[888]

591 621

The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

623

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mito* of the

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Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwatu	Two mataiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	I Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yasuanga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants
643 believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were
602 approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu;
565 that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*auanga*) of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of
643 the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

644 The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *takuyomou* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any
643 side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old mako and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

643 In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested.
644 Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Ulu-takapou and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapou, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-
[133] takalenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

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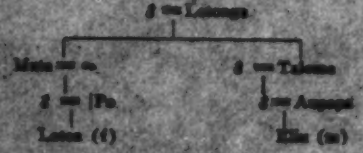
cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child *my ilamutu;* the child calls the father *my matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakova* (*sic*) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *yinakova* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakova*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakova* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance *my yinakova*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakova*.

Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *hainga vaheine* or as *vaale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *vaale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *vaale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *vaale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

> First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hainga vaheine*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hainga vaheine* are *vaale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *vaale atua* are also *vaale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hainga vaheine* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *vaale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *vaale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *vaale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *vaale atua* or *hainga vaheine* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



> Mata and Takaua are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotea and Elia, are *vaale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotea, of the opposite sex, are *vaale atua* to each other.

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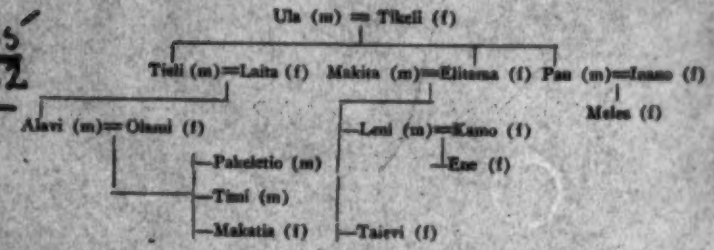

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga wahama*. Meles is a *hainga wahama* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga wahama* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakeletio and Timi are *wale atua* to Ene; Makatia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga wahama* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

Hainga wahama may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga wahama* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605 602 765

The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the taps at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 881 867

The taboos between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*uakatane* and *uahouwaine*). Before this time the two kinfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship taboos. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship taboos that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the taboos have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-taboo relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest taboo is established.

605 577

When the adopted (*kokoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he comes to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *kokoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Elia and Lotea (p. 299):

> Lotea is some years older than Elia. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotea to cross the road one day to the rear of Elia's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Elia retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Vati, Lotea's husband,

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605 visits at the house of Ella, and Hellegi, Ella's wife, visits with Vai. Neither Ella nor Lotea visits for opposite hours, even when he knows the *sasi aina* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 695 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *sasi aina* are involved in a case. Neither *sasi aina* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *sasi aina* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 835 The intense hate that exists between *sasi aina* relatives is supported by the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 753 Sometimes in spite of the rapu *sasi aina* become so obnoxious as to necessitate an emotional separation. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The strongest punishment asked for was mental infection of the two *sasi aina* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of illness today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *sasi aina* threat in the families of those afflicted. One well-remembered case is that of Pukalo who married his *sasi aina*, Weneo, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren, all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, soberly assured me that his illness was due to the fact that his first wife, was his *sasi aina*, whom he married in an access of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old rapu were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

[771]

602 539 835 The attraction of *sasi aina* for each other is sometimes many times in the old love chants (*hapu*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a legendary or in a contemporaneous selection of one *sasi aina* for another. When asked for explanations for the *sasi aina* lapse, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hapu*. The contextualization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

[illegible]

The second chant runs:

[illegible]

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The consciousness of the breaking of a taga is clear from the man's remark in this about that his love for his *mate aana* is *kai hanenga* (kind of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai ataenga* (incest).

No reference to *mate aana* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people. Among the younger generations, several *mate aana* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to wink his presenting relatives by being secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *mate aana* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the taga, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of solicitatory friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very least that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal correspondence is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

Conception is known as *te makelihinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te makelihinga* or *te ihonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iho* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te mea ko iho ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

Conception involves an organ (*manava*) in both the male and female (*manava* is given elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *manava*, the female secretion enters the male *manava*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *manava* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *manava* was close to it. She knew that it is the *manava* that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *manava* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

The theory of conception was discussed with Fuo, a native medicine man. His theory is that the *manava* of the man conquers the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

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walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*uale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*sukuiaya*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*tuaiv atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *uakeavenga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*autonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[11] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of uto or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in spacial frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[11] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is best inhibition and nose pressure with emphasis on expansal inhalation.

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Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kiliki shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *hili langi* or *la lupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutae* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people scrabbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewale, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splashing up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

2; Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for kinship terminology, rule of descent and avoidance relationships, see pp. 16-18.]